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ABSTRACT

At the turn of the century, there was no canon of expertise in administrative practice because laymen operated most of the schools, and there was no canon of authority in professional educational administration because there was no identifiable body of knowledge unique to administration of schools. As the administrative progressives began to see the emergence of a new vocation they turned to the following as sources of the canon of expertise and authority: the adoption and adaptation of business management science, the corporate model, and the new science of the educational intelligence and achievement testers; the development of specialized graduate school programs and degrees to identify standards of scholarship and practice; the institution of administrative certification through state departments to safeguard against the unknowledgeable and the untrained; symbiotic graduate school professor-student job placement networks, assuring the anointed the best available positions; the development of professional administrator associations to represent collective interests at state and national levels; and the keeping of voluminous educational records both to protect against the incompetence of subordinates and to demonstrate the effectiveness of the school program. (Author/IRT)

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Educational Administration: The Search for the Canons of Expertise and Authority

by James C. Parker

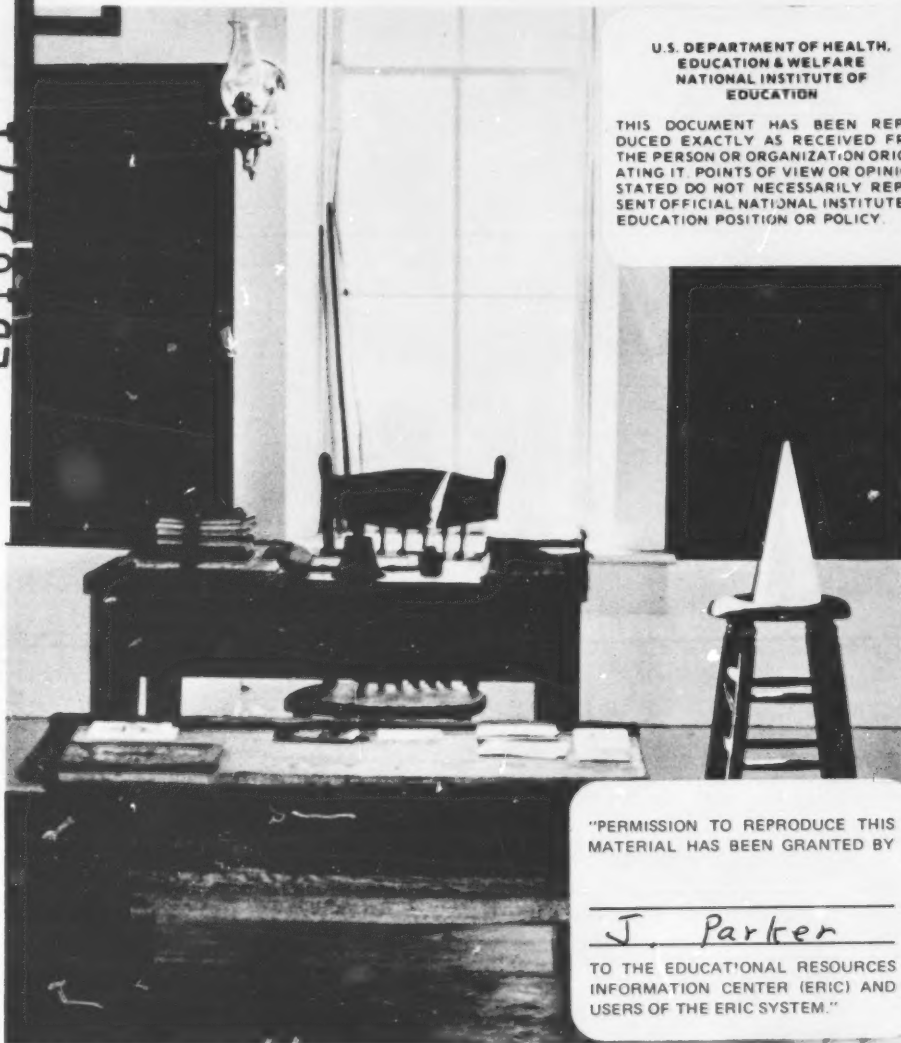
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HARLAN DENNETT BEEM
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The Harlan Dennett Beem Memorial Fund was established in memory of Harlan D. Beem to support lectures, monograph publications, and special activities designed to foster and advance the interest field of educational administration.

Professor Beem was born September 29, 1906. He earned degrees at DePauw University and the University of Illinois. He devoted his life to educational administration serving as a teacher and principal in the public schools, as a county superintendent of schools, and as a member of the faculty of Southern Illinois University. He also served as editor of the *Illinois School Board Journal* and as director of research of the Illinois Association of School Boards. His death came on March 16, 1964, after a long illness. His total commitment to the improvement of learning and teaching, to public education, and to the enlightenment of educational leadership sustained a continuing dynamic in the intellectual ferment of which he was a part while he was among us.

To date, five lectures have been presented. This is the first monograph. Other monographs are currently being planned.

The Harlan Dennett Beem Memorial Fund activities are supported by a sustaining fund consisting of contributions in memory of Harlan D. Beem and administered by the Southern Illinois University Foundation. Activities of the fund are handled by a committee composed of the department executive officer of the Department of Educational Leadership and two other full-time tenured staff members. Further contributions to this fund will be utilized to increase the frequency of issue of the monograph series.

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On the Cover: The interior of the Charter Oak School in Randolph County, Illinois, preserved as a museum.

I. 1837-1905: Lay Control and the Philosopher Leader

Until 1837 when the position Superintendent of Schools was established in Buffalo, New York, there was little or no differentiation of the administrative function from the instructional function in public schools. And until the turn of the twentieth century, public schools continued to be run largely by local boards of education and other lay committees. It was not until after the common school was firmly established in the 1860's that the office of superintendent really began to emerge.¹ Thus until early in the twentieth century there were no programs and few courses designed to prepare educational administrators.

Rural Schools

As one of the few social institutions that rural people encountered almost daily during the nineteenth century, the rural school in many instances was the symbol and the essence of the community. It not only reflected but also shaped a sense of community. "Families of a neighborhood were usually a loosely organized tribe; social and economic roles were overlapping, unspecialized, familiar. School and community were organically related in a tightly knit group in which people met face to face and knew each others' affairs."² In such a situation, work, family, religion, school and recreation were a unitary set of interactions. The person who personified the school was, of course, the teacher. She had to sense and learn well the community mores, for one moral lapse or indiscretion, like being seen after hours in the presence of a village male, meant an arbitrary and usually abrupt departure.

This arbitrariness of the rural school in the forms of "the 'bookish' curriculum, haphazard selection and supervision of teachers, voluntary character of school attendance, discipline problems, diversity of buildings and equipment" were only the outward signs of the rural school problem outlined by reformers in the 1890's. The fundamental problem they said, was that "rural folk wanted to run their own schools and didn't know what was good for them in the complex, new society."³ After all, America was expanding westward and developing industrially at a tremendous pace. Rural schools just were not keeping up.

Remedies pressed by most professionals including the National Education Association's Committee of Twelve on Rural Schools were 1) consolidating school districts and transporting pupils, 2) providing expert supervision from the county superintendent, 3) removing the schools from politics, 4) training professional teachers, and 5) designing the curriculum to meet with the life of the community.⁴ But not all was well in the rapidly expanding and industrializing cities either.

City Schools

In the late nineteenth century the cities, building on their village heritage, pioneered the providing of systematized governmental services e.g. police, public health, charity and public education.⁵ This they did partly from fear of ethnic and class discord threatened by the onslaught of approximately 14 million immigrants between 1865 and 1900 (after 1900, immigrants came at about one million a year for about 20 years) and partly from the necessity of coordinating the sometimes chaotic growth of the population and the introduction of new business and industrial technologies.⁶

Part of the village heritage was the election of school board members to represent a particular ward. Board members traditionally had the power to run the schools; moreover, it was easy from the ward election orientation to be narrow and to play a given ward's politics against another's to one's own political gain in a third ward. Duties of the board typically included visiting schools, hearing recitations, and giving examinations; over-seeing all but the most trivial administrative details; and deciding on most fiscal matters. School superintendents usually were given the functions of supervising teachers and preparing in detail the course of study.

Needless to say, superintendents differed greatly in the realm of authority granted to them by their boards but most felt hampered by what they saw as the board's politics. Having little real power, superintendents called for heroic leadership in an uncertain realm of professional authority. David Tyack observes that superintendents' autobiographies of this period echoed John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

Like Christian tangling with Apollyon in the Valley of Humiliation, schoolmen wrote of contests with bullyboys in one-room schools. They told of the Pliables or Obstinates who lost faith when they encountered the pedagogical Slough of Despond. Mr. Worldly

Wiseman offer, appeared in the guise of textbook salesman. . . . The city school board sometimes resembled the jury in *Vanity Fair*, with its Mr. Blindman, Mr. No-good, Mr. Malice, and Mr. Hate-light. Fiery darts came from the wicked in every quarter, while deceptive by paths distracted Schoolman from his quest for the Celestial City

announced by Evangelist Horace Mann to be the common school.⁷ The biblical allegory of *The Pilgrim's Progress* is appropriate because schoolmen of this time believed the educational goal to be the common school for this preordained nation of opportunity. School leaders, as other public figures, were "quintessential Victorians: evangelical Protestant, British-American, bourgeois."⁸ As such, they gained their authority by exemplifying that ideology, not by their professional training. Their certification was church membership and day-to-day earnestness.

Philosopher Leaders

School leaders were school leaders, whether in the public schools or in the universities. It was not uncommon for university presidents to move to a city superintendency and vice versa. For example, Andrew S. Draper was Commissioner of Education for the State of New York, superintendent in Cleveland, Ohio, and later president of the University of Illinois. Josiah Pickard became president of the University of Iowa after his term as superintendent in Chicago. And in 1898 when Albert Lane left the Chicago superintendency, William Rainey Harper, President of the University of Chicago and also a public school board member, was successful in having his "intellectual father" E. Benjamin Andrews, then President of Brown University, appointed to succeed Lane. Interestingly "Bulletin Ben" as he became known because of his endless autocratic bulletins to teachers lasted only two years. He made the mistakes of sitting in the front row at school board meetings and insisting on speaking without having been spoken to.⁹

Two of the most prominent figures in the superintendency at the turn of the century were William H. Maxwell, who served from 1887 to 1898 as superintendent in Brooklyn and from 1898-1915 as superintendent of the unified boroughs schools of New York City, and William T. Harris, who was superintendent of the St. Louis schools from 1867 to 1880 and United States Commissioner of Education from 1889 to 1906. These men displayed the "aristocracy of character" of the quintessential Victorian and thought of themselves as

educational statesmen. Their work they characterized in philosophical terms and in line with that of doctors, lawyers and clergymen.¹⁰ In describing the superintendency of his day, Harris had the following to say:

The efficient superintendent sets into working order three educative influences to support the one great work of education in the school system: namely, an educative influence in wise measures and correct insight, for the members of the school board; second, an educative influence resulting in insight into methods, and a growth in personal self-control, and besides these a culture in literature and art and science, for teachers; thirdly, for the community, an enlightened public opinion which knows what the schools are actually doing and can intelligently explain merits and defects, and tell what changes are desirable for onward progress.¹¹

Had Harris known in 1892 that the word *efficient* would come to be used with a vastly different connotation for the superintendent two decades later, he probably would have chosen another adjective. Efficient came to connote scientific management efficiency and the lowest unit cost per recitation regardless of subject matter.

II. 1905-1930: Scientific Management and the Administrative Progressives

Superintendents had always demanded loyalty, tact, and strict obedience from teachers because that is what had been demanded of them by school boards and committees. Remember, Superintendent E. Benjamin Andrews had been fired in Chicago because he was outspoken and prominent at board meetings. Aaron Gove, a veteran superintendent in Denver, had directed his teachers that if they had "advice to give to their superior, 'it is to be given as the good daughter talks with the father. . . . The dictation must come from the other end.'"¹² Even the philosopher statesman William T. Harris had emphasized that the first rule of school was *Order*, and he said that school must be likened to the punctuality of a railroad or the precision of a manufacturing concern.¹³ But the men of Harris' time had in mind the effectiveness of the manufacturing world and the need to eliminate the disorder accompanying rapid growth. Subsequent superintendents played upon the docility of teachers and the demands of the public to enforce on schools and schooling a caricature of the then in-vogue business—industrial ideology.

Two persons destined to be at the forefront of the movement to enforce sharp business practices on schools received their Ph.D.'s from Teachers College, Columbia University in 1905. They were Ellwood P. Cubberley,¹⁴ who within 15 years became Dean of Education at Stanford and a writer of influential books on the new progressive administration, and George Strayer,¹⁵ who immediately became a professor of administration at Teachers College and as such directed the programs of hundreds of graduate students as well as the conduct of numerous school surveys. These two men embraced (with others) the inordinate challenge of reforming the schools in this country. They were aware of rural school "backwardness" and city "ward board" problems, and they heard the cries of school leaders who believed they were being given short shrift by boards and communities. Their and their colleagues' response was to design new administration courses and programs which addressed problems and to introduce into those courses and programs Frederick W. Taylor's notions about "shop management" or scientific management as it became known later.

Shop Management

The essential notions of Taylor's management system were 1) time and motion studies on which to standardize every facet of a job; 2) rigid task setting and production quotas re-enforced by daily, even hourly in the case of children, paychecks and "bonuses"; 3) the introduction of several functional foremen (inspector, gang boss, speed boss, repair boss, time clerk, route clerk, disciplinarian, etc.), in the place of one jack-of-all-trades shop manager who inefficiently left individual workmen to their own production procedures and devices; and 4) management of the whole enterprise by the planning department, a series of managers who planned every detail in advance and controlled every task in toto. All of these steps were taken to eliminate waste, to make the enterprise more efficient, and of course, to make an operation more profitable by producing more for less. Taylor, a brilliant metals scientist and engineer, really hoped to discover in a given situation the one best way to produce the best quality product possible at the least possible cost for the benefit of both the company and workers involved. It was the ruthless application of his principles that caused his scientific management system to receive

wide criticism.¹⁶ When introduced, Taylor's principles, it must be remembered, made sense to plant managers, school leaders, government officials. Even to churchmen and home economists!¹⁷

Social Context of Management

What contributed to the rise in popularity of scientific management and Taylorism? America in the early twentieth century was characterized by mushrooming industrial, technological, and material development under a relatively unbridled capitalistic system. The ideology of this country's business moguls—Andrew Carnegie, Edward Harriman, J. P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller and others—was widely admired and heralded as the exemplification of America's rapidly developing strength as well as its leadership potential. As a backdrop, the stories in McGuffey's readers, read almost universally by Americans prior to the turn of the century, provided a model which confirmed material success as the result of hard work and honesty.¹⁸

But America at the turn of the century had genuine problems as a result of unbridled growth:

the consolidation of industry and the concentration of wealth; the ruthless exploitation of the country's natural resources; the corruption and inefficiency in government; the tremendous growth of cities; the flood of immigrants who added to the complexity of the social and political problems of the urban areas; and finally, the fear among the middle class that America would react to these problems in an extreme or radical way (this reaction had of course been predicted by Karl Marx and had been realized, to an extent, in the growth of various forms of socialism in America).¹⁹

Had it not been for the muckraking journalists in popular magazines such as *McClures*, *Ladies Home Journal*, *Saturday Evening Post*, the public might never have become aroused enough to demand sweeping reforms. The nation's malaise including that of schools was exposed. Especially in the years 1910–1912, the muckrakers intensified the public's feeling that there were wasteful practices everywhere. At the same time, they gave much publicity to scientific management and made great claims as to its effects.²⁰

The public was led to believe that it could have its cake and eat it too. Not only could the hordes of new immigrants be absorbed into city schools and the curriculum greatly expanded in consolidated

rural school districts, but also could waste be eliminated and even costs be lowered through scientific management. The corporate model of governance and modern business practices were the keys to eating and yet having "educational" cake. If school leaders had been as careful scientists as they were sensitive politicians and had been as interested in the best possible results as in lowering costs, their rendition of scientific management would have taken much different forms than reducing education to financial terms and simple economics. But such was not to be the case.

Scientific Management Applied

One of the first persons to characterize the school as a factory and to prescribe modern business methods in a systematic way to its operation was Leonard Ayres, who in 1909 published *Laggards in Our Schools*.²¹ This book, a supposedly scientific analysis of retardation and elimination in schools, was a bombshell on the school scene and inflamed attacks on schooling and school leaders. Ayres, gathering his data from school records and governmental reports, portrayed schools as filled with retarded children who occupied needed school desks (immigrant children were pouring in) and as eliminating a high percentage of students (because they dropped out) before they finished the eighth grade. "By retarded children, he meant children who were over-age for their grade regardless of how well they were doing in this work."²² His claim was that retardation varied from 7% in Medford, Massachusetts to 75% for Negro children in Memphis, Tennessee; the average for all pupils in public schools being approximately 33%.²³ Ayres ignored social and educational reasons for retardation and elimination—such as, average age at entry into first grade, non-English speaking immigrant children, south to north and rural to urban migration—and "... held the schools responsible, charging that their programs were 'fitted not to the slow child or to the average child but to the unusually bright one.'"²⁴ The old guard, the philosopher leaders, must have groaned with disbelief, for they had prided themselves on upholding standards by requiring a satisfactory performance on examinations before passing pupils into the next grade.

Ayres most potent scientific management tool, however, was an "Index of Efficiency" by which he weighed retardation and elimination as a percentage against school costs. He applied this "Index" to public schools in 58 cities, which he names in his book, and reported

"... the most 'efficient' school system was spending \$24,033 or 6.5 percent of its annual budget on repeaters, and the least 'efficient' was spending \$120,584 or 30.3 percent on those students."²⁵ School administrators, already under great pressure to adopt a business ideology, found themselves having to spend much time defending what they perceived to be already efficient schools.

One year later, in 1910, from Interstate Commerce Commission hearings on a rate application by northeastern railroads would come a full public exposition of Frederick W. Taylor's management principles. Testimony at the hearings indicated that the railroad should be able through the introduction of Taylor's management system to not only lower costs but also increase wages. "One of the witnesses, efficiency expert Harrington Emerson, who had successfully put efficiency practices into operation for the Sante Fe Railroad, estimated that through this system the railroads could save up to one million dollars a day!"²⁶ Have and eat cake too.

School Leaders React

Criticism of railroads in the northeast was easily transferred to other institutions; such was the mood of the nation. School leaders heard the criticism and reacted in their professional meetings, particularly in the National Education Association's Department of Superintendence sessions. In 1910 the National Society of College Teachers of Education met and heard its main address given by Frank Spaulding, Superintendent of Schools in Newton, Massachusetts.

Charging that the administration of public education was "grossly inefficient" and "the weakest phase of our great educational enterprise," he urged that the training of the administrator emphasize the practical aspects of the job and be based on "simple and sound business principles."²⁷

At the annual meeting in February, 1911, of the Department of Superintendence and again that summer at the annual meeting of the National Education Association (NEA) itself, calls were made by speakers for school leaders to employ scientific management in the operation of schools. The president of the NEA urged the appointment of a committee on "Tests and Standards of Efficiency of Schools and School Systems." He told the members present "... that there was a 'very pressing demand' for educators to apply scientific effi-

ciency procedures that were being used so effectively in industry."²⁸

In 1911 and 1912, speeches and papers continued to call for the use of scientific efficiency methods. Evidence that the calls were being heard and operationalized are the titles of speeches and of work sessions of the NEA and the Department of Superintendence in 1912: "The Determining of School Efficiency," "Waste and Efficiency in School Studies," "The Standardization of Janitor Services," "What the Public May Expect in Dividends: Material, Civic, and Social." That year the NEA's Department of Normal Schools heard an address on "Standards of Measuring the Efficiency of Normal-School Students" and the Department of Music Education an address by C. A. Fullerton of Iowa State Teachers College on "The Principles of Scientific Management Applied to Teaching Music in the Public Schools."²⁹ In *Education and the Cult of Efficiency* Callahan comments that Fullerton "... had obviously studied Taylor's writing very carefully and manifested a much clearer conception of the real nature of scientific management than any other educator I have encountered."³⁰ Frank Spaulding, Superintendent of Schools in Newton, Massachusetts, and Franklin Bobbitt, instructor in school administration at the University of Chicago, were not as careful, however, in their study of Taylor's principles.

Dr. Frank Spaulding, Superintendent in Newton, Massachusetts (later Superintendent in Minneapolis, then later Cleveland and in 1920 head of Yale University's newly formed Department of Education) and one of the most prominent school leaders in this country, delivered at the 1913 meeting of the Department of Superintendence a speech designed to help his peers in a troubled school situation. What he managed to do was to reduce school leadership to cost accountancy. He abstracted very superficially school management essentials from Taylor's principles and then generally applied these "essentials" to a description of efficiency in the Newton Schools. He could, for instance, say that one school was 17% better than another. How was relative success or merit measured? In his speech, Spaulding avoided those issues and "... told his audience that 'this measure is found in qualitative success—that is the standing in the subject studied. . . .'"³¹ He further added that explanatory details were unnecessary.

Spaulding also was able to solve simply another age old educational problem, that of assigning relative value to the various subjects in schools. His values were dollar values. With this criterion of value established,

He then went on to describe what relative value [dollar-wise] had been assigned to the various subjects taught in the Newton secondary schools. He found 'that 5.9 pupil-recitations in Greek are of the same value as 23.8 pupil-recitations in French; that 12 pupil-recitations in science are equivalent in value to 19.2 pupil-recitations in English; and that it takes 41.7 pupil-recitations in vocal music to equal the value of 13.9 pupil-recitations in art.'³²

Spaulding's point was clear and concrete; his conception of scientific management was simple and in budgetary terms. Educational value and merit were the dollar value and merit, other criteria were not discussed. He advocated making educational decisions simply on financial grounds.

Another even more important event in 1913 was the publication of the Twelfth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (NSSE). The title of the yearbook, edited by Franklin Bobbitt, was *The Supervision of City Schools*. Bobbitt divided the presentation into seven sections and interspersed in each section principles of scientific management. The first section dealt with standards and specifications:

Without definite standards for the product which the organization was to turn out, the work could not even be started. The steel plants if they were to manufacture rails had to have precise specifications for this product, and these standards were not determined by the steel mill but by those who ordered the rails. This principle was equally applicable to education, for, said Bobbitt, "education is a shaping process as much as the manufacture of steel rails."³³

Other sections dealt with methods and procedures, selection and training of teachers, and finally definiteness of instruction.³⁴ Bobbitt advocated that business and industrial leaders should directly influence schools, probably through election to school boards, and control what was taught; in fact, he portrayed this role as a civic duty. Thus, school administrators would become mere robots whose job it was to discover the most efficient means of doing exactly what they were told. The prestige of the National Society was placed behind Bobbitt's proposals.

Administrative Progressives

The administrative progressives³⁵—those that embraced centralization of power, "realities" of economic and social classes in society, scientific management—were moving on other fronts as well. They

were advocating 1) the removal of the school from "politics" or the replacement of ward politics with the new politics of business, industrial, and professional elites serving as members on school boards, and 2) the running of schools by the administrative progressives themselves, the new educational administration specialists who were more and more graduates of advanced preparation programs.

Getting the schools out of politics meant "... nothing less than a fundamental change in the structure and process of decision-making."³⁶ The administrative progressives wished to make their positions less subject to the vagaries of ward politicians. They wished their boards to be more like the modern business corporation's board of directors, a small group of successful entrepreneurs. With such a small board, they believed that their leadership positions would be less tenuous and that schooling could be adapted to the realities of economic and social classes in society. In addition, "Effective political reform, said one of their leaders, might require 'the imposition of limitations upon the common suffrage.' They ridiculed 'the exceedingly democratic idea that all are equal' and urged that schooling be adapted to social stratification."³⁷ The progressives were notably successful in their efforts. From an average of 21.5 school board members in cities of 100,000 population in 1893, the average had declined to 10.2 members in 1913. By 1923, the median number of board members declined to seven.³⁸ As power became concentrated at the top in the form of small boards usually elected at large from the populace, the new experts began to take over.

Expert Preparation

These new experts were trained at Columbia, Chicago, and Stanford—all private, prestigious universities—and were influenced greatly by Professors Strayer, Bobbitt, and Cubberley. A significant problem facing these early professors of school administration was the lack of a knowledge base on which to build courses and programs. After all, the profession of school administration was just beginning to take shape. Perhaps for that reason, those professors turned to Taylor's scientific management, a knowledge base and ideology seemingly related to their own welfare and one which seemed to address many of the economic problems local school administrators were facing. The professors faced seemingly insurmountable odds in building whole programs and departments from a zero base. Their task was to invent courses and find sufficient enrollees to take them.

Bobbitt pictured the school administrator as an engineer and was the developer of many rating scales (mainly for teachers' performance) for measuring efficiency. Cubberley pictured the school leader as a benevolent autocrat, an executive like a captain of industry. He did not see teachers as individuals, but rather he saw them as a platoon he called the teaching corps. Strayer portrayed the school administrator as a business manager, who needed to have specific technical skills for immediate tasks on the job. He saw no task (such as inspecting lavatories) as too trivial for scientific study.

The new professors . . . gave the stamp of university approval to elitist assumptions about who constituted good school board members and to the corporate mode of school organization. They tried to develop "scientific" ways of measuring inputs and outputs in school systems as a tool of management, and to elaborate ways in which the school might rationalize its structure and curriculum to fit new industrial and social conditions.³⁹

Looking back in 1930 to 1905 when he received his doctorate, George Strayer ". . . saw twenty-five years of steady progress. The keys to this success were 'the application of the scientific method' and 'the professional training of school executives,' he believed."⁴⁰ Certification was by an interlocking directorate with business and industry and by specialized professional training in school administration.

After Bloom

The efficiency movement had been particularly harsh on the "teaching corps." There were few ways to be more efficient than schools already were except with a caricature of scientific management applied to schools. Among the few ways to seem more efficient were increasing class sizes (50-100 was not uncommon) and cutting teachers' salaries (or eliminating teachers' jobs entirely). From the advent of scientific management there was criticism of its principles and to the autocratic application of them by the American Federation of Teachers in Chicago. John Dewey, among the noted educational philosophers and critics, and later William C. Bagley, one of the prominent teacher educators at the time, both criticized the excesses of the scientific managers, but their dissenting voices and others were lost in the roar of new factories and the public's shouts for efficiency and economy.

After the full flowering of scientific management (about 1925), the excesses of the movement became more apparent. In 1925 Chicago Superintendent William McAndrew initiated a public relations campaign which pictured the school as America's "service station" and with courteous service at that. In 291 Chicago schools that year, 2024 posters—e.g., "Citizens welcome. Tell us what you think," and "This School desires to serve the public. Business transacted in the office"—advertised the service station theme.⁴¹ After all, Franklin Bobbitt had declared it one's civic and business duty to tell the schools what to do. McAndrew had added an element to the school's business ideology, that of selling itself through public relations.

Another example of the after-bloom was a report by U.S. Commissioner of Education William John Cooper, *Economy in Education*.⁴² He reported that the item with most potential for economy was, of course, teachers' salaries; but he also reported in detail on buying various kinds of school paper. Turning to the physical facility, "He stated that 'Lavatories will probably repay any effort spent on them.'"⁴³ Had not George Strayer said that no task was too trivial for scientific study and doctoral dissertations?⁴⁴

An irony of the scientific management movement for the administrative progressives was that "... their basic problems remained—they continued to be insecure in their jobs and they continued to be plagued with financial problems."⁴⁵ Job security hinged on their being able to operate schools without more money, an almost impossible feat with the expanding population and increasingly enforced child labor and school attendance laws.⁴⁶

III. 1930-1955: Human Relations Movement and Democratic Administration

By the early 1930's the voices of dissent had gathered against the heavy-handedness of the scientific managers. One of the first groups to oppose that heavy-handedness was the Chicago Federation of Teachers (CFT) under its dynamic leaders Margaret Haley and Catherine Goggin, called by their foes "lady labor sluggers."⁴⁷ Where scientific management had particularly irritated teachers was in the system of teacher supervisors and usually secret evaluations made by supervisors. Interestingly the CFT "... did not oppose supervision but rather called for more objective rating systems and for the rating

of supervisors by teachers as well."⁴⁸ Prophetic of things to come was the adoption of the slogan "Education for Democracy, Democracy in Education" by the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), an outgrowth of the CFT. Interesting also were the operational principles adopted by the AFT in 1916. Eaton cites the principles and notes that they were presented to and endorsed by the parent American Federation of Labor:

1. The right of teachers to organize and affiliate with labor must be recognized.

2. If our children during their most impressionable years are to have the benefit of daily contact with examples of upstanding American manhood and womanhood, and not to be exposed to an atmosphere of servility in the schoolroom, teachers must be given warning and a hearing before being separated from the service.

3. The teacher must be guaranteed the opportunity to make his due influence felt in the community, working thru the school chiefly, but free to work thru all the avenues of citizenship.

4. The control of the teaching staff should be removed from the Board of Education, and placed in the hands of the professional expert, the Superintendent of Schools.

5. If our democracy is not to be crippled at its source, democratic school administration must be secured by insuring to the teacher an effective voice in that administration.

6. The schools must be removed from politics by the application of the merit principle of civil service to the employment, advancement, and dismissal of teachers, thus securing tenure during efficiency.

7. The work of the teacher, now notoriously ill-paid, determines the quality of our future citizenship, and should receive financial recognition more clearly commensurate with its importance to the community.

8. Vocational education should be encouraged, but only under a "unit system."

9. The people should directly control educational policies thru the popular election of boards of education.

10. A system of free textbooks is an essential of genuinely free and democratic public schools.

These principles were the unchanging position of the AFT from 1916 to 1929.

The scientific managers or administrative progressives had little in common with two other groups who after 1930 became strident

in their criticism of scientifically manager schools. The so-called educational progressives, drawing on the works of Sigmund Freud and other libertarian intellectuals, criticized the repressiveness of the school curriculum and urged that the child's self-expression be nurtured and developed. The other group increasingly critical was the social reconstructionists—John Dewey, George Counts and others mostly at Teachers College, Columbia—who wished to use "... the schools to construct a new social order."⁵⁰ *Dare the School Build a New Social Order*⁵¹ by George Counts best presents the ideas of this group.

Reordering Administrative Priorities

One of the first school administrators to cite the dangers of an over-emphasis on scientific management was Jesse H. Newlon—history teacher, principal, superintendent successively at Lincoln, Nebraska; superintendent in Denver; then professor (appointed 1927) at the most productive in terms of graduates and probably the most prestigious professional education school at that time, Teachers College, Columbia. Newlon's background in the public schools and his ability as a scholar made him the right man to lead a redefinition of the superintendency and of school administration, one which put education in first place and business-managerial aspects in an important but secondary position. Increasingly Newlon's and others' conception of the school administrator came to be one of educational leadership in a democratic framework where a company of scholars could address problems together.

In 1925 while president of the National Education Association (NEA) Newlon in a speech

warned his colleagues that "the greatest danger that besets superintendents at the present time is that they will become merely business managers." Many superintendents, he said, were more "concerned about the purchase of pencils and paper, about the employment of janitors and clerks, about mere business routine, than they are about the educative process that goes on in the schoolroom. Such individuals would make good bookkeepers." Later in the speech he told his audience that administrators must be "students of the social sciences, of all that is included in the fields of history, sociology, economics, psychology, political science. . . ." The educational leader, he said, "must be a reader and a student."⁵²

These were courageous words in 1925, even from the president of the NEA, because they went against the mainstream of administrative practice and preparation.

Newlon's book *Educational Administration as Social Policy*⁵³ and his doctoral dissertation at Teachers College, both published in 1934, led Newlon to the conclusion that there was an over-emphasis on the "how" of administration almost to the complete exclusion of the "why."⁵⁴ His complaint was "... that in a period of great social and economic crises school administrators were preoccupied with what he said one superintendent regarded as 'busy work.' As for expert business management, it was, he said, very desirable in its place but it paled before the great issues educators faced."⁵⁵ During the 1930's Newlon as editor of *School Executive* magazine greatly influenced practitioners, school board members, and professors with his emerging conception of the democratic educational leader.⁵⁶

In business and industry, the notions of human relations—morale, group dynamics, democratic supervision, and personnel relations—were gaining attention. Undoubtedly, the work of Elton Mayo and others at Western Electric's Hawthorne Plant in Chicago had much to do with this. Mayo and other researchers had been trying to gain more precision on one of Frederick Taylor's principles which indicated that production line illumination levels related directly to production output. The researchers found no direct relationship and more questions arose than were answered. Research then gradually turned to and began to focus on human relations notions, thus away from man-as-an-extension-of-the-machine principles of Taylor.⁵⁷

By the mid-1930's there was evidence that conceptions of educational administration had changed. The titles of the 1933, 1935, and 1937 Department of Superintendence Yearbooks were respectively *Educational Leadership: Progress and Possibilities*, *Social Change in Education*, and *The Improvement of Education: Its Interpretation for Democracy*. The 1942 National Society for the Study of Education Yearbook, planned in 1942 and published in 1946, *Changing Conceptions in Educational Administration*, had in its first chapter four sections entitled "Educational Administration as Social Statesmanship," "Leadership in Educational Administration," "Educational Planning," and "Democracy in Educational Administration."⁵⁸ All of these section titles except perhaps the last one would have been appropriate at the turn of the century.

School and Community Leadership

After World War II Newlon's emphasis on scholarship and the social sciences is absent among other writers. Instead emphasis is

given to the educational leader's releasing the creativity of whatever group is being worked with and channeling that creativity into a greater dynamism than would have been possible by each person working separately. Typically educational leadership came to be conceived as leadership for the community with everyone—teachers, pupils, parents, other adults—participating in the decision-making process.⁵⁹

The acknowledged spokesman of this post World War II period was Ernest O. Melby. He received his Ph.D. in 1928 from the University of Minnesota and his dissertation, appropriate for that time, was on school finance. From 1939–41 he served as Dean of the College of Education at Northwestern University and after World War II he served for a period as Dean at New York University.⁶⁰ Melby's book *Administering Community Education*,⁶¹ published in 1955, put into perspective ideas of the time. Educational leadership is to meet the community's needs in a creative and dynamic way. His concept of the superintendency emphasized not the scientific manager's knowledge of task but rather the democratic leader's knowledge of group process which would "... release the creative talents of others."⁶²

Techniques used by educational administrators in the 1950's were committee work; symbolic, if not real, involvement and recognition; and a camouflaging of the real lines of power. But historians are now beginning to see post World War II "democratic" leadership techniques smacking of manipulation. Tyack says:

While some administrators really believed in "democratic administration," and genuinely tried to restructure authority in school bureaucracies, quite as often they manipulated teachers to arrive at conclusions the management had predetermined. Forms administrators used to rate teachers clearly indicated the premium placed on conformity, group-think, cooperation (read obedience); the forms never inquired (to my knowledge) if teachers had a sense of humor—that was too subversive a quality for the professional bureaucrat. Worried about teacher unrest, the managers learned to coopt teachers rather than to dictate to them, but when teachers persisted in independent behavior, prompt sanctions usually followed.⁶³

Dissatisfaction Sets In

It is not surprising then to find in the early 1950's a growing dissatisfaction with the practice of "creative democratic administra-

tion." It just did not work as it was supposed to in the real world. Callahan cites four major factors which contributed to disenchantment with "democratic" administration. First, administrators themselves felt a loss of leadership strength as they tried to share power with others, many of whom only wanted power and not concomitant responsibility. Second, the social sciences had accumulated during and immediately after World War II a storehouse of knowledge about organizations and the administrative process. Educational leaders saw the advantages of applying this knowledge to the operation of schools. Third, the Kellogg Foundation, because of some findings in its community health project, began to support dissemination of research, graduate fellowships, seminars by social scientists, and experimental programs for pre- and in-service educational leaders. In the decade, 1950-1960 the Foundation spent over seven million dollars, most of it in grants to eight universities, to support improved educational administrator preparation programs. Fourth, there were a resurgence of criticism, not unlike 1910-1912, caused by the social hysteria of McCarthyism and the financial difficulties of schools as they tried to accommodate the "baby boom" and demands for expanded programs. The crowning blow was the 1950 firing of Pasadena, California Superintendent Willard Goslin, immediate past president of the American Association of School Administrators.⁶⁴

School administrators knew the dastardly effects of muckraking and social hysteria, and they knew they had to turn to an improved preparation and practice if they were to survive in office. Fortunately, social science and the Kellogg Foundation were waiting in the wings. They came on stage and shaped the next twenty years in educational leadership.

IV. 1955-1975: Social Science and Its Application to Educational Administration

In 1955 Professor Andrew Halpin confirmed through his research what administrators already felt: "democratic" administration had caused a decline in administrative leadership. Writing three years later, Halpin was openly critical of "democratic" administration calling it merely a slogan behind which many administrators hid their own inability to initiate structure and to be leaders.⁶⁵ Where did professors and practitioners turn for some fresh insights and new behavior patterns? More and more they found the social sciences help-

ful, particularly psychology and sociology. A number of seemingly disparate events had led to the works of social scientists.

Converging Disparate Events

At the February, 1947, meeting of the American Association of School Administrators (AASA), a sizable group of educational administration professors met to discuss their dissatisfaction with the intellectual status of the profession. They were particularly at odds with those of the "democratic" administration persuasion, for the professors believed "democratic" administration to be an ideology preached with an idealistic missionary zeal, not a body of knowledge with a realism appropriate to administrative problems.⁶⁶ Under Professor Walter D. Cocking, a ten day meeting at Endicott, New York, for 70 invited professors was called for August. This small but influential group emerged as the National Conference of Professors of Education Administration (NCPEA). The NCPEA has continued to meet every August to explore better ways to prepare educational administrators.⁶⁷ In the years since its inception, the NCPEA has had more influence on the professing and ultimately the practicing of educational administration than its informal structure and interdisciplinary work sessions might indicate. For example, the 1954 NCPEA meeting in Denver is cited by Jacob Getzels as an event which became a benchmark for the next two decades of study and practice.⁶⁸

Another of the seeming disparate events was the launching in 1950 of the Kellogg Foundation funded Cooperative Program in Educational Administration (CPEA). By the summer of 1952 CPEA Project Centers had been established at eight universities in the United States—Teachers College, Columbia University; Harvard University; University of Chicago; Ohio State University; George Peabody College for Teachers; University of Texas; University of Oregon; and Stanford University. The general purposes of the eight centers were to improve the pre- and in-service training of educational administrators (in this case, superintendents), to employ an interdisciplinary social sciences approach to issues impinging on schools, to disseminate research findings to practitioners, to discover new knowledge about education and administration through an application of social science knowledges, and to foster communication and cooperation among universities and corollary educational administration agencies within a region.⁶⁹

Interestingly, research on educational administration per se was not encouraged by the Kellogg Foundation.⁷⁰ However, research did develop as part of the CPEA, particularly at the University of Chicago under Dean Francis Chase and Midwest Administration Center Director Roald Campbell. Each Project Center published in books, monographs and journals its findings concerning a wide range of topics—"from administrative behavior to school-board-member behavior, from role perception to decision making, from community power structures to problems of integration."⁷¹

An outgrowth of the CPEA has been the University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA), a national cooperative of colleges of education and departments of educational administration. The UCEA since its founding in 1956-1957 has contributed to, influenced or sponsored almost every event and publication concerning the preparation of educational administrators. The CPEA and the UCEA have been important vehicles through which the social sciences have been applied to the practice as well as the study of educational administration. Each has provided numerous fellowships, research reports, and new teaching materials.

Inward Focus

By 1954-1955 study, research, and development had occurred sufficiently so that a broad outline of at least the first decade of this period could be discerned. That outline was of a Hegelian dialectic. From the scientific management thesis—"management should take away from the worker responsibility for planning the work, it should measure productive effort by time and motion study, and it should set incentives before the worker in order to stimulate desirable effort on his part"—and the human relations antithesis—"the 'warp and woof' of an organization and . . . all those in it should 'evoke each other's ideas, come to see each other's viewpoints and integrate their viewpoints in pursuit of the common goal,'" there emerged the social science synthesis—the integration of the impersonal or production (scientific management) forces and the personal or humane (human relations) forces of an organization.⁷² Actually the synthesis had been stated earlier (1938) in Chester Barnard's perceptive book *The Functions of the Executive*. The synthesis was discovered by those applied social scientists working in educational administration, and it was enunciated at the benchmark 1954 NCPEA meeting. Subsequently the literature for a decade would invariably mention such derivative terms as initiating structure and consideration aspects of

leadership behavior⁷³ as well as nonothetic or institutional and idiographic or personal dimensions of organizational functioning.⁷⁴ The study and practice of administration faced inward toward relations within the school organization and applied the best social psychological theories to the solution of problems. In the social environment of the late fifties and early sixties the social psychological paradigm worked; Getzels says a fundamental transformation or shift had occurred in addressing problems.

The essential shift was from conceiving of educational administration as a domain of action only to conceiving of it as a domain of study also. The shift moved the focus of effort from an orientation based on solutions, where experienced administrators gave answers to questions of "how to do it" to an orientation based on inquiry, where problems were posed and understanding was sought regarding the phenomena of administration in their own right. Two successive *Yearbooks* on administration published by the National Society for the Study of Education (NSSE), one before the 1954 [NCPEA] meeting and one after dramatically illustrate the transformation. Five of the nine people responsible for the 1946 *Yearbook* were practicing state school officers or school superintendents; none of the fifteen people responsible for the 1964 *Yearbook* held these positions.⁷⁵

By the middle to late sixties there was hardly a textbook or journal article that did not utilize the concepts of social science theory, the notion of the school as a social system, and the field of educational administration as an area of study as well as vocation. Leaders of the first decade were undeniably university professors, almost without exception at CPEA and UCEA affiliated schools.

Outward Focus

As with any once promising ideas and theories, new ideas and further theoretical developments occur supplanting the old. An inward focus in the late sixties and early seventies did not account for all the social unrest and external problems schools were encountering—"The struggle over civil rights, inequality of opportunity, Vietnam, the new pluralism, the effects of inflation, and the increasing skepticism of citizens as to whether they were getting their money's worth for the taxes they were paying. . . ."⁷⁶ Attention necessarily moved to the "outward" social sciences: e.g., politics, law, economics, and even for a brief while to the humanities. The public seemed to want information on business, governmental, and educational outcomes; thus the

field at least partially returned to its beginning thesis but in new clothes called accountability: note, for instance, the rise in popularity and mandate of such things as operations research, planning-programming-budgeting systems, performance/competency based (administrator) education, network analysis, and the National Assessment Program.

Stemming from competition to secure funding resources (for universities versus schools) and from criticism by professors of prevailing administrative practice, the practitioner oriented professional associations and educational administration professors have never been very close. In 1968 the AASA opened its own "war college" the National Academy for School Executives (NASE) to help meet the immediacies of administrative problems. The modus operandi of NASE has been to staff its sessions largely with practicing superintendents who relate how they have survived problems—usually "his board, the teachers' organization, the business community, the public media, the minority groups, the state legislature, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare."⁷⁷ Some would say an anti-intellectualism has developed so that administrative survival is valued more highly than administrative analysis. The more optimistic view would indicate that practitioners are now better prepared than ever before to handle their own immediate problems and are so doing.

Only experience and some passage of time will give us an indication of how well administration practitioners and professors have identified and have addressed the problems of the last two decades. In 1977 the jury still is out on the application of the social sciences to educational administration. Preliminary indications according to Campbell are as follows: "Achievement of tasks, though important, is not enough. Human relations, though critical, are not all all-encompassing. For educational administration to borrow from one or two disciplines, although suggestive, does not include all of the phenomena. The field is more sophisticated and complex."⁷⁸

Participants at the 1975 Ohio State University/University Council for Educational Administration sponsored conference "Educational Administration Twenty Years Later: 1954-1974" seemed generally to agree with Roald Campbell that the social and professional concerns presently confronting and likely to continue confronting the profession are as follows:

1. Pluralistic cultural values will continue.
2. For some years the school will be a declining industry.

3. Teachers organizations will exercise a significant role in educational governance.

4. States will become more important in the governance of education.

5. The stress on educational outcomes will continue.

6. For a time at least, the deification of administrative practice, as contrasted to administrative thought, will persist.⁷⁹

Have we as practitioners and professors identified the problems correctly? Are we asking questions about the enigmatic as well as the apparent so that we can deal with the fundamentals as well as the pragmatic? Will we be able to apply and/or invent efficacious methodologies to answer questions and resolve problems? Who will be involved in this work and at what levels of involvement? And finally, where, if at all, do we see for ourselves as individuals and as groups any involvement in the broader professional work?

V. Summary

As stated earlier, it is still too early to judge conclusively the contributions and effects of the immediately past two to two and one half decades. However, historians are beginning to assess earlier developments in the profession of educational administration. The path-breaking work of Raymond Callahan in *Education and the Cult of Efficiency* and more recently David Tyack's book *The One Best System* and his *History of Education* article "Pilgrim's Progress: Toward a Social History of the School Superintendency, 1860-1960" do offer viewpoints on searches for canons of expertise and authority in educational administration. We are fortunate to have other educational historians joining Professors Callahan and Tyack.⁸⁰ Conferences like the one cited at Ohio State University in 1975 tend to give us preliminary assessments and pertinent information on the current searches for the canons of expertise and authority as well as suggested agendas for the future. Let us now turn to what David Tyack's assessment is from 1860 to 1960.

Nineteenth Century

At the turn of the century, there was no canon of expertise in administrative practice because laymen largely operated the schools and

there was no canon of authority in professional educational administration because there was no identifiable body of knowledge unique to administration of schools. Therefore, school leaders, superintendents, at the turn of the century relied on 1) a Protestant network of intersecting institutions (family, church, school), 2) membership as white males in the favored Anglo-Saxon middle class, and 3) the personification of official village morality for their sources of expertise and authority. But as the administrative progressives began to see the emergence of a new vocation, they verbally at least began to discard these sources. The problem lay in not being able to know consistently what was successful as opposed to unsuccessful practice.⁸¹

Twentieth Century

Generally school leaders turned to the following as the sources of the canons of expertise and authority:

1. the adoption and adaption of business management science, the corporate model, and the new science of the educational intelligence and achievement testers.

2. The development of specialized graduate school programs and degrees to identify standards of scholarship and practice.

3. The institution of administrative certification through state departments to safeguard against the unknowledgeable, the untrained, i.e., the incompetents.

4. Symbiotic graduate school professor-student job placement networks, assuring the anointed the best available positions.

5. The development of professional administrator associations to represent collective interests at state and national levels.

6. The keeping of voluminous educational records both to protect against the incompetence of subordinates and to demonstrate effectiveness of the school program.⁸²

Callahan has fully discussed the efforts of school leaders to reflect the high prestige of the business world on themselves by adopting business practices. Tyack, Callahan and others have shown the effectiveness of the professor-student symbiotic relationship in job placement. In fact, the students learned the techniques so well they jeopardized their professor's placement effectiveness. Most educational administration professionals are aware of the power and authority of their professional associations, especially in the political

arena. And with the passage of the Family Rights and Privacy Act (Buckley Amendments) many have been reminded of the power and authority of school records, not to mention the sometimes inexpert use of those records. But what about the effects of graduate programs and degrees and state certification?

Tyack says that traditionally three tests that have been applied to preparation programs for occupations. They are (1) transmission of specific knowledges and skills needed by a distinct occupational group, (2) selective admissions of only qualified entrants into a program, and (3) a long period of internal socialization to a group's distinct norms.⁸³ How does educational administration rate on these tests?

Tyack's assessment is "not well." In the matter of specific knowledges and skills, "What fit experience was imprinted. Professional training probably enhanced the authority of superintendents, but it is dubious that it changed their behavior very much." On the matter of selective admissions, Tyack's evidence is that "... programs in educational administration have generally not been selective in admissions nor has certification seriously narrowed the pool of eligible candidates for positions at least not until the last generation." He further notes that "In most institutions all that was required . . . was a B.A. and cash to pay tuition."⁸⁴ In the matter of long-term, intense socialization, superintendents typically have not taken time off to immerse themselves in studies. They have gradually drifted into administration by taking courses part time. In sum according to traditional tests, "Intellectual disarray, low admission standards, sporadic course-taking, and the marginal importance of professional training to most school boards, then, probably meant that specialized training in administration did not do a great deal to legitimize the authority."⁸⁵

Whether the concern was protection against incompetents or, less flatteringly, protection of the ranks by the administrators themselves, by 1950 almost every state (all except Michigan) had enacted administrator certification provisions.⁸⁶ The state through its representatives had decided that not everyone should be an educational leader.

The Future

In 1977 the future is not clear. We as educational administration professionals seem to be searching for our roots, having recently been

staggered by the illusionment of unmet goals and unfulfilled dreams pursued in the 1960's. We seem to be at a watershed point where the canons of expertise and authority will for the moment be sought in an expanded use of more of the social sciences. Or the search could take us to other methodologies, e.g., the split brain theories of Ornstein and others or the psychoanalytic approaches of Levinson to organizational analysis and prescription. The exciting thing is that if we choose we can participate, maybe even lead, in the search for the canons.

Notes

I. 1837-1905: Lay Control and the Philosopher Leader

1. Raymond E. Callahan, *Changing Conceptions of the Superintendency in Public Education, 1865-1964*, The Fifth Alfred D. Simpson Lecture on Administration (Cambridge, Mass.: The New England School Development Council, 1964), p. 2.

2. David B. Tyack, *The One Best System* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), p. 17.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

6. Raymond E. Callahan, *Education and the Cult of Efficiency* (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 14.

7. David B. Tyack, "Pilgrim's Progress: Toward a Social History of the School Superintendency, 1860-1960," *History of Education Quarterly*, 16 (Fall, 1976), p. 259.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 258.

9. Tyack, *One Best System*, pp. 134 and 170.

10. Callahan, *Changing Conceptions*, pp. 5-6.

11. William T. Harris, "City School Supervision," *Educational Review*, quoted by Raymond E. Callahan, *Changing Conceptions of the Superintendency in Public Education, 1865-1964*, The Fifth Alfred D. Simpson Lecture on Administration (Cambridge, Mass.: The New England School Development Council, 1964), p. 4.

II. Scientific Management and the Administrative Progressives

12. Tyack, *One Best System*, p. 60.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

14. See for examples the following: Ellsworth P. Cubberley book: *Changing Conceptions of Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909); *Rural Life and Education: A Study of the Rural-School Problem as a Phase of the Rural-Life Problem* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914); *Public School Administration* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1922).

15. The reader is reminded that in 1977 one of the optional funding formulas currently in use in Illinois is one generally referred to as The Strayer-Haig Formula.

16. Callahan, *Cult*, pp. 28-41.

17. As mentioned in Callahan, *Cult*, pp. 44-45, an article "Scientific Management in the Home" by John B. Guernsey, in the April 1912 issue of *Outlook* suggested that management of a household could be conducted as a business proposition. Management was to standardize content, procedure, and time for 10-12 meals; and if the servants did not waste seconds by gazing out of the window when they were preparing food, they were to be appropriately reworked. However, in one response to Guernsey's article, a reader "... pointed out that for the ordinary family to adopt his scheme would be 'about as practical as coupling a steam locomotive to a baby carriage,' while another was incensed at the inhumanity of preventing a servant from enjoying the aesthetic experience of gazing out of the window for 102 seconds."

18. Callahan, *Cult*, pp. 2-3.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10.

21. Leonard Ayres, *Laggards in Our Schools* (New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1909).

22. Callahan, *Cult*, p. 15.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

27. Callahan, *Changing Conceptions*, p. 11.

28. Callahan, *Cult*, pp. 54-55.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 86-91.

35. The term "administrative progressives" taken from Tyack, *One Best System*, p. 127.

36. Tyack, *One Best System*, p. 127.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 182.

41. Callahan, *Cult*, p. 226.

42. William John Cooper, *Economy in Education* (Palo Alto, Cal.: Stanford University, 1963).

43. Callahan, *Cult*, p. 242.

44. Callahan, *Changing Conceptions*, p. 14.

45. Callahan, *Cult*, p. 222.

46. *Ibid.*

III. 1930-1955: Human Relations Movement and Democratic Administration

47. Tyack, *One Best System*, p. 260.
48. William Edward Eaton, *The American Federation of Teachers, 1916-1961* (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1975), p. 29.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.
50. Tyack, *One Best System*, p. 196.
51. George S. Counts, *Dare the School Build a New Social Order* (New York: John Day Co., 1932).
52. Callahan, *Cult*, p. 203.
53. Jesse A. Newlon, *Educational Administration as Social Policy* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934).
54. Callahan, *Cult*, p. 200.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 202-203.
56. Callahan, *Changing Conceptions*, pp. 18-19.
57. Robert G. Owens, *Organizational Behavior in Schools* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc.), pp. 9-10.
58. Callahan, *Changing Conceptions*, pp. 19-20.
59. Clyde M. Campbell, Editor, *Practical Applications of Democratic Administration* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952), pp. 19-20.
60. Callahan, *Changing Conceptions*, p. 20.
61. Ernest O. Melby, *Administering Community Education* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955).
62. *Ibid.*, p. 250.
63. Tyack, *One Best System*, p. 268.
64. Callahan, *Changing Conceptions*, pp. 22-27.

IV. Social Science and Its Application to Educational Administration

65. As cited in Callahan, *Changing Conceptions*, p. 36.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
67. Owens, *Organizational Behavior*, p. 16.
68. Jacob W. Getzels, "Educational Administration Twenty Years Later, 1954-1974," in *Educational Administration: The Developing Decades*, ed. by Luvern L. Cunningham and others (Berkeley, Cal.: McCutchan Publishing Corp., 1977), p. 3.
69. Owens, *Organizational Behaviors*, pp. 19-20.
70. Read purposes of the CPEA literally.
71. Owens, *Organizational Behavior*, p. 20.
72. Getzels, "Twenty Years Later," pp. 4-8.
73. See Andrew W. Halpin, *Theory and Research in Administration* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1966).
74. Jacob W. Getzels and Egon G. Guba, "Social Behavior and the Administrative Process," *School Review*, 65 (Winter, 1957), pp. 423-441.
75. Getzels, "Twenty Years Later," p. 9.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

77. Roald F. Campbell, "Educational Administration: A Personal View of Its Future," in *Educational Administration: The Developing Decades*, ed. by Luvern L. Cunningham and others, Berkeley, Cal.: McCutchan Publishing Corp., 1977), p. 39.

78. Ibid., p. 41.

79. Ibid., p. 37.

V. Summary

80. Other educational historians active in this area include William Eaton, Joan K. Smith, Eugene Provenzo.

81. Tyack, "Pilgrim's Progress," pp. 257-278.

82. Ibid., pp. 278-285.

83. Ibid., p. 280.

84. Ibid., pp. 280-281.

85. Ibid., p. 281.

86. Ibid., p. 279.

87. See Robert Ornstein, *The Psychology of Consciousness* (San Francisco, Cal.: W. A. Freeman, 1975); Harry Levinson, *Organizational Diagnosis* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971).

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Jim Parker is a native Mississippian. He received his grade school education in Evansville, Indiana, Memphis, Tennessee, and Kosciusko, Mississippi. His bachelor's degree in music education (1959) and his master's degree in educational administration (1960) were both received from Memphis State University. In 1971 he received his Doctor of Education in educational administration from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

For ten years he served as a teacher and/or administrator in the schools of Tennessee and Mississippi. His experience includes service in parochial, private, and public schools. From 1966 to 1969 he was principal of Chastain Junior High School, Jackson, Mississippi.

Since coming to Southern Illinois University at Carbondale in 1971, Dr. Parker has been active in university, state, and national professional affairs. He has served on the College of Education's Graduate Affairs Committee and the University's Graduate Council. He has been chairman of the Illinois Conference of Professors of Educational Administration and has made presentations at state and national professional administration meetings. For fifteen months he served as acting dean of the Division of Continuing Education at SIU. At present he is assistant director of Vocational Education Leadership Projects and associate professor of Educational Leadership.

Under Dr. Parker's guidance four students have completed their doctoral degrees and fifteen have completed their master's and specialist's. He has served as a member of numerous graduate student committees and professional service review teams. His current research and writing interests are in the areas of vocational administrator preparation and the history of educational administration.